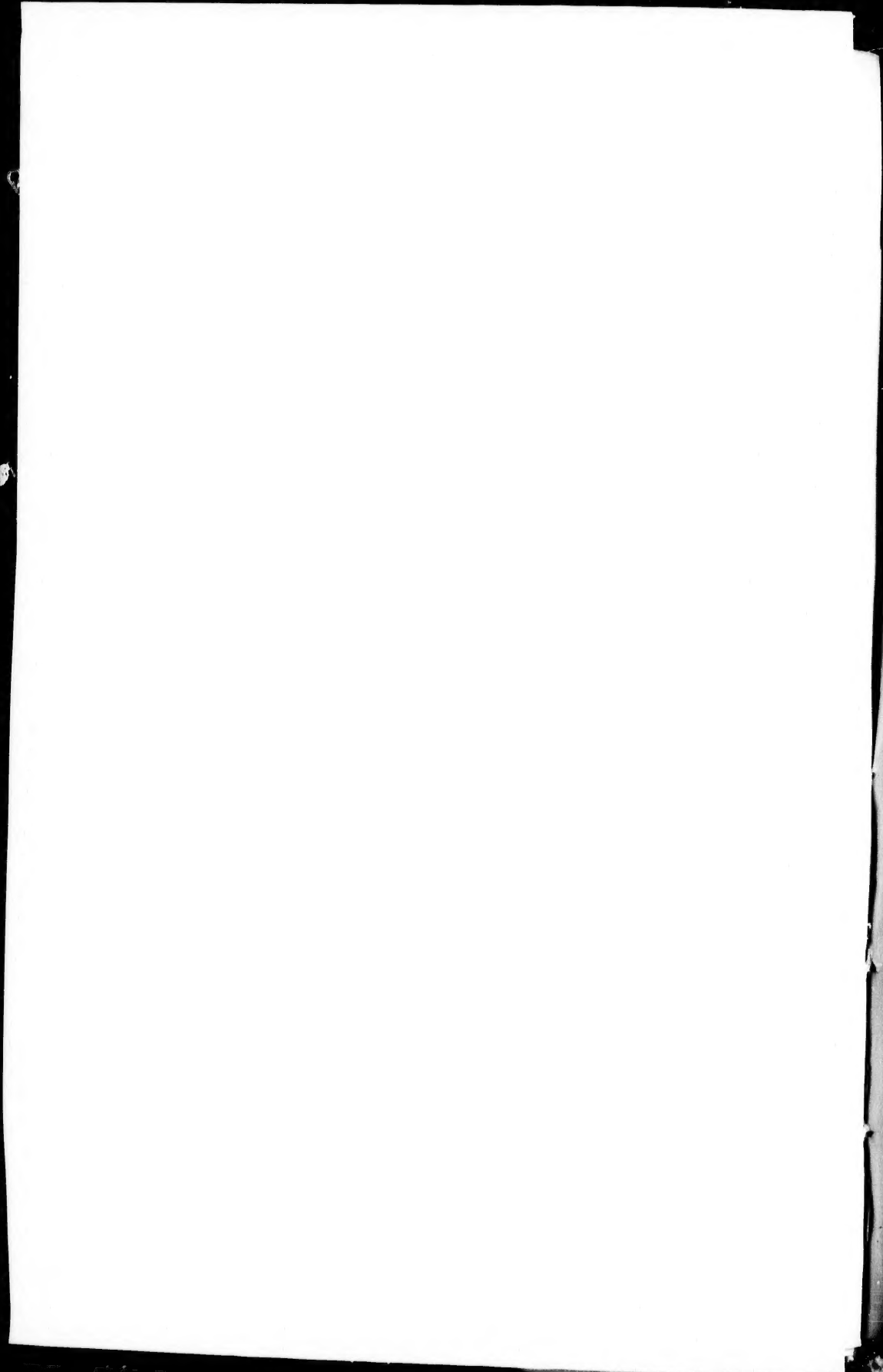




- ART. III.—1. *Notes on North America—Agricultural, Economical, and Social.*—By James F. W. Johnston, M.A., F.R.S. 2 vols. post 8vo. Edinburgh. 1851.
2. *Lettres sur l'Amérique.* Par X. Marmier. 2 vols. 12mo. Paris. 1851.
3. *Travels in America.* A Lecture delivered by the Earl of Carlisle before the Leeds Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society. Tenth edition. 1851.
4. *A Glimpse of the Great Western Republic.* By Lieut.-Colonel Arthur Cunynghame, author of 'An Aide-de-camp's Recollections of Service in China.' 8vo. 1851.

BESIDES quoting freely from the concise practical volumes of Mr. Johnston, and availing ourselves, now and then, of those by the acute and observant, but diffuse and rather sentimental M. Marmier, as well as of Lord Carlisle's graphic Lecture, and the shrewd although rapid *Glimpse* of Colonel Cunynghame, we mean also on this occasion to make considerable use of the latest columns of the American press. Already, fresh as these title-pages are, such supplementary information is indispensable. Indeed, so extensive are the changes which the agency of man is continually effecting in the Western World, that there is little exaggeration in the statement made by one of our authors—that 'a book might be written every six months by the same traveller periodically revisiting the same scenes, and yet possess in a high degree the charm of novelty.'

Professor Johnston's expedition was not one of mere spontaneous curiosity. He was invited to deliver a course of lectures before the great meeting of the New York Agricultural Society at Syracuse. And in New Brunswick a more arduous task awaited his arrival; for, as soon as his acceptance of the New York call became known, he had been requested by the Governor and House of Assembly to examine that province, with the view of preparing a Report upon its agricultural capabilities. These missions he successfully accomplished, and afterwards visited our other North American provinces, as well as the Eastern and part of the Southern States of the Union, returning to this country, after an active six months' tour, in April 1850. We have now to thank him for a narrative of great and varied instruction. His views are calm, and remarkably unprejudiced; though a Liberal, his book shows but traces of the bigotry of partisanship.

One of the first subjects he enters upon—and he often recurs to it—is the discontent prevailing in our American provinces, and the desire, openly expressed by many, for annexation to the States—

States—a topic which has now assumed the very gravest importance from the announced intention of Government to withdraw her Majesty's troops from the Canadas, and thus resign them to their own wishes and resources.* There has lately been such a confusion of political parties, and there always is such a variety of interests, both moral and material, in our Canadian provinces, that it is all but impossible to arrive at a correct conclusion as to their actual condition. At this moment we dare say very few of our readers can tell how it happened that a majority of Upper Canadian members, of British blood, and many of them British born, went with the French members in the case of the portentous Indemnity Bill. How came those who had been unanimous, not a few of them gallantly active, in opposing the rebellion, to be found voting with those who had all favoured, many of them participated in it? Mr. Johnston put this question to a friend of his—one of these British members—and his explanation was to the following effect:—For a long series of years, Upper Canada was under the dominating rule of what was called the Family Compact, by which home-born Canadians and a certain number of high officials divided all posts and patronage among themselves, and did everything in their power to keep the British-born from participating in the sweets of place. The few British who gained access to the Assembly, therefore, were naturally driven into opposition, and, after the union of the Provinces, made common cause with the French Opposition to the Tory Government, till at length the numbers of the latter party exceeded those returned by the Family Compact. As a natural result the Tories were ousted, and the present mixed Government went in. In short, still fresh from the struggle, and embarrassed by their ill-assorted alliance with the French members, the British-born allowed party to triumph over principle, and voted for the *Indemnity Bill*. It may be very true that many of them 'never believed or intended that any one who had aided or promoted the rebellion should be compensated;' but there must have been others not quite so shortsighted, and whose only excuse is their awkward position. Nevertheless, but for the incredible weakness of the Government at home, we should have had no serious fear. Under any circumstances that could well have been anticipated, we should have felt confidence that

* See Correspondence relating to the Civil List of Canada (Blue Book, April, 1851) pp. 9-13—Despatch from Lord Grey, dated March 14—in which he informs Lord Elgin that, in consequence of the pleasant state of our relations with the government at Washington, it is considered needless to maintain any British force in our Provinces, except 'the garrisons of two or three fortified posts—probably only Quebec and Kingston!'

matters would right themselves, and that the whole British party, whether home or provincial born, would ere long stand side by side again on all great questions. The Indemnity Bill was a most unhappy measure—if only from the discord and discontent it occasioned among the loyalists—so that many of the old Tories have been heard loudest in the cries for ‘annexation.’ But time would probably have healed the mischief thus inflicted: and so far as this immediate irritation went, we should have been of good hope for the provinces.

It must be allowed, however, that the folly of the Home Government is not the only source of our apprehensions now. The local irritation has produced a brood of erroneous conceptions of sufficiently dangerous character, and which even with the wisest management it might have been difficult to clear away from the minds of the provincials. The most alarming of these is, that, beholding the rapid progress of certain portions of the States, they suppose there must be something in the constitution of the Union more favourable than their own to the development of a country’s resources. That this is a total delusion, Mr. Johnston believes, and, we think, proves. When compared with the *whole* Union, our provinces exhibit an even more rapid rate of advance. It is only the north-western States and New York that outstrip the Canadas; but then these adjoin our territory—the sight of their progress is ever before the provincials—this partial superiority is thought to be universal, and the genuine British spirit of grumbling is freely indulged in. In fact, continues Mr. Johnston, the energy of the Canadians is as great and as well-directed as *any of the States* can show; even as to canals, the former, in proportion to the population, will yield in no point to the latter. The true reason of the envied advance of New York and the north-western States is simply this:—It is through them that the flood of emigration has been and is now pouring into the New World; and as long as this goes on, the men and money of Europe must cause them to distance all competitors. But let our provinces look forward—nay, let them even look keenly into the present, and they will discern that the balance is already quivering ere it turn in their favour. Can they not read the sure destiny of their St. Lawrence? That mighty river is the natural outlet of the immense lake districts; and, as these are fast peopling, signs of future argosies are appearing on its waters. The Erie Canal is no longer adequate for the traffic streaming along it; and all the expense that the Americans ever can bestow upon it, will never make it keep pace with the wants of the inland States. Let, then, our fellow-subjects take heart, and be patient; for if their progress at present

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be more moderate than their immediate neighbours', it is due to no fault of theirs or ours, but simply to a necessity of nature; and the more rapidly the north-western States advance, the more certainly will the tide of commerce and emigration soon pour its golden flood down the noble valley of the St. Lawrence. So argues the Durham Professor.

In manners and in sympathies a marked difference exists between our Provinces and the States; even between Upper Canada and Western New York, which are contiguous and in constant intercourse, this difference is quite apparent, and would no doubt, under any circumstances short of continued madness at headquarters, long continue. 'One feels,' says Mr. Johnston, 'the *de trop*—the tendency to exaggerate—among the men of the one side, obtruding itself sometimes offensively, especially in the newer States of the Union, and among the newer people. An opposite tendency attracts constant notice along the Canadian borders. Both Mr. Johnston and M. Marmier—men as diverse in cast of thought as they are in the country of their birth and their career in life—unite in considering this diversity of temperament as the chief real source of the disaffection in our colonies. Let us hear the French traveller. He has looked at both sides of the picture—has examined both the Provinces and the States: on Lower Canada naturally he has bestowed peculiar care:—

'How is it,' says he, 'that this fine country is not more peopled? How is it that it does not attract those masses of emigrants who unceasingly direct their course to the United States, where already it is not so easy a matter to obtain employment or to purchase land? These are questions which I have often considered without being able fully to resolve them. Often enough have we all been told that no one understands the art of reclaiming land like the American. He is the father of the puffing system [*père du puff*]. It is by *puff*, presented under all forms—in newspapers, in books, on steel, spread throughout every region by agents, officious and official—that he has turned the heads of our brave peasants of Alsace, and of thousands of families in Germany; it is by *puff* that he induces them to quit their paternal parishes for the sake of traversing ocean to till the fields of a distant continent; it is by *puff*, the most active and the most deafening, that he is now peopling the plains of California, until he find some other speculation to trumpet forth by its flourishes. The Canadians as yet know nothing of this dazzling charlatanism. They have not learned to proclaim each morning in their journals, and to repeat incessantly to all comers, that theirs is the country without parallel, the asylum of liberty, the temple of fortune, the Eldorado so celebrated by the voyagers of old. On their part the Americans covet Canada, but they take good care not to sing its praises until it has passed into their hands. Whatever they may now say against it, however, we shall soon see opened from one point to another the lines of communication

cation of which these same Americans are so proud—roads to bind together the villages, canals to unite the great rivers, railways to transport goods and travellers from north to south. From the nature of the soil and the cheapness of materials, railways can be here constructed as cheaply as in the United States. The one which already reaches St. Hyacinth, and which is to be prolonged to Portland, costs only half a million of francs per league, while in France it would cost double the sum. For myself it gives me pleasure to believe in the future of Canada. I see there a fertile soil which, sooner or later, cannot fail to attract colonies of labourers, and on this soil already an honest people amidst whom it is a comfort to sojourn.'

It will be observed that in the following sentences M. Marmier states of the Lower Canadians precisely what Mr. Johnston has asserted of the inhabitants of the Upper Province:—

'If they have preserved the virtues of their French nature, they have also kept its defects. Mobile and impressionable, they are prompt to enthusiasm, and not less so to despair. They could not see the fortune of their Republican neighbours without envying it; and they thought that if they did but enter the Union, they would immediately open for themselves a road paved with dollars. Hence those everlasting dissertations by a dozen of journals, and those meetings where the same theme is reproduced with inexhaustible emphasis. Very many, however, of those who declaim on this subject do not believe that it is realizable, and use it only as a means of agitation. Who in truth can believe that England will consent not only to dispossess herself of Canada, but to give up this vast country to her maritime rival? Some say that Canada brings in nothing to England—nay, that she is even a source of considerable expense. Were this true, and could we consent to value the dependencies of a great empire merely by the number of crowns they pay into its treasury, it would remain not less true that Canada contributes to enrich the commerce of Great Britain, and is every year becoming a more important point of colonization. Again, even supposing that Britain had not the slightest pecuniary interest in the preservation of that country, she must continue bound to hold by it from a sentiment of national pride; she must feel that she could not abandon it without branding herself with the stamp of feebleness in the face of the whole world, and without levelling a serious blow at her whole imperial system. Lastly, if, in spite of all these considerations, she were to welcome complaisantly the addresses of the Annexationists, there would remain some financial questions which could not fail to be rather embarrassing: one of these being the debt of nearly a million and a half sterling, contracted by Canada; another, all the money that England has expended on the fortress of Quebec, &c., &c., &c., and the repayment of which she would most certainly insist on. Are the United States so much in love with Canada as to take her with all her debts? I hardly think so. And if, while accepting her share of the expenses of the Federal government, Canada found *herself*, moreover, burdened with a private debt

debt of two millions sterling, I do not think her divorce from England, and her union to the American Republic, would set *her* much at her ease.

‘Those who cry out for annexation use all the arguments which form the stock in trade of revolutionists in all regions—dilapidation of the public funds, bad conduct of officials, neglect of the misery of the people, necessity for a thorough reform in the administration of affairs. There are indeed savings to be effected in the budget of Canada, and considerable reforms to be accomplished in its legislation, which presents a singular mixture of old French customs with portions of the code of England; but in order to effect these objects is it absolutely necessary to have recourse to the republican authority of the United States? Can they not be accomplished gradually by the will of the people through the votes of its Parliament?’

After some discussion of the union of the Provinces, especially the offence it had given the French party by its anticipated effect on their power in parliament, M. Marmier warns his friends that this is but a secondary danger.

‘In Annexation, on the contrary, I see the rapid and radical annihilation of all the remains of French nationality. Whatever resistance the Canadians might offer to the influence of the United States, their primitive manners must be absorbed in the flood of mercantile habits, their language effaced before another. They would become Americans. They would drown themselves in the industrial whirlpool of America, as the waters of their St. Lawrence amid the waves of the ocean. Their religion, against which England has never even lifted a finger, will be turned into derision, harassed, assailed by all those *sectors* of new doctrines, by all those passionate declaimers who *thunder* against papal idolatry in the American meetings—by all those sects which, under uncountable names, swarm and multiply in the States. But the Catholic religion is in Canada the keystone of nationality. Without it, adieu to the last vestige which the France of other ages has left in this distant country.’

Mr. Johnston arrives at a similar conclusion. The first movement was made by the French Romanists of the Lower Province, the second by the disgusted Conservatives of Upper Canada.

‘But,’ says he, ‘to neither of these classes would any special good flow from a union with the States. The Roman Catholic body, as a whole, would acquire more power in Congress—and with a view to this end the Romanists in the States may sympathise with and encourage their brethren in Canada to bring about the annexation; but in the Province itself they would certainly dispossess themselves of the position they occupy as the church of Canada East, and they would very much endanger the large landed possessions by which they are at present enriched. Then, as to the Conservative minority in Upper Canada, they would be driven still further from office. As was the case in the States when Jefferson came into power, the democratic element would increase in strength after the change; and a party which,

which, under British rule, did not know how to yield for a time to the overwhelming force of a popular majority constitutionally obtained, would be obliged to take up a new political position very considerably in advance of its past professions, or be content to surrender all hope of materially influencing for the future the affairs of *the new State*.'

Thus, in the Canadas, party animosities and the superior progress of the nearest States are the chief internal sources of danger; but in the valuable province of New Brunswick—according to Professor Johnston—the timber, or 'lumber,' trade, has been the great fountain of evil. At first there was an apparently inexhaustible resource in its boundless forests. The cutting of the trees, the haulage and floating of them down the rivers, gave healthy employment to many men; the raising food for these men called agricultural industry into play; the export of the timber employed many vessels and enriched many merchants. But the cutting went on most lavishly, even at low prices; while every year carried the scene of the woodmen's labours further up the main rivers and into more remote creeks and tributaries,—adding, of course, to the labour of procuring the logs, and their cost when brought to the place of shipping. Despite of the gradual overstocking of the home market, the colonists went on felling trees and building saw-mills, till the general embarrassment became sufficiently alarming. Just at this juncture, in pursuance of our new policy, the Timber Duties Bill of 1846 was passed. This at once brought matters to a climax: countless families were ruined, and the cry of discontent has never since gone down.

Out of the immediate evil the Professor anticipates an ultimate good for New Brunswick. It was, he says, an acknowledged effect of the lumber-trade that, so long as it constituted the leading industry of that province, it overshadowed and lowered the social rank of every other. The lumberer, fond as the Indian of the free air and untrammelled existence of the forest, receiving ample wages, living on the finest flour, and enjoying long seasons of holiday, looked down upon the agricultural drudge who toiled the year long on his few acres with little beyond a comfortable maintenance to show on the credit side. The young and adventurous among the province-born were tempted into what was considered a higher and more manly, as well as a more remunerative line of life; and many of the hardiest immigrants followed their example. A great proportion of the farmers themselves were seduced by the occasionally splendid profits of lumbering—as a lucky hit in a mining country makes crowds of miners; and thus not only was the rising generation largely demoralised by the habits of the woods, but agriculture was neglected, and the farmers very generally involved in difficulties.

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The result of all this had been an extensive emigration to the States, both of farmers and lumberers—many of the former leaving their lands to their creditors without even the form of a sale. Bad as this is, it may, in Mr. Johnston's opinion, have afforded the Province its best chance of returning to a healthy, cheerful, energetic, and prosperous condition. All, he says, that is now required, is that '*the farmers mind their own business.*'

We can by no means adopt the agricultural Professor's evident coldness as to the timber industry of these regions. It seemed right to state fully the conclusions he arrived at as respects New Brunswick; but we must suggest to him that that is only a part of the question. Even in New Brunswick, it would appear from a late petition of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province to the House of Lords that, notwithstanding the severe effects of the Act of 1846, the timber trade had reformed, and to a considerable extent recovered itself. The Act, 'based on the principles of free trade, placed foreign and colonial wood in the British market upon an equality, *taking into consideration the difference of distance and consequently of freight.*' But the British Government have, in the present Session of Parliament, proclaimed their purpose to carry the war against the Colonial wood-interests much further—in short to make such a new reduction in the duties as would leave no margin whatever for the difference of distance and freight between our American ports and the ports of the Baltic. A similar petition, moreover, has been addressed to the House of Lords by the Council of the Quebec Board of Trade; which shows that exactly the same alarm has been excited in *Canada*. Are we really determined to complete the alienation of British North America?

In consequence, no doubt, of this wide-spread discontent, so closely connected, first and last, with the influence of the anti-colonialists in our Home Government, a bill has lately been presented in Congress, declaring the expediency of obtaining by peaceable means the annexation of our Provinces. A formidable symptom of 'pleasant relations!' Yet, in the face of it, we cannot quite overlook the elements of discord and disunion now at work in the Great Republic itself. We have all read enough of the rivalry and antagonism between the States of the South and North, especially in regard to the tariff and slavery questions. Even Mr. Calhoun is said to have been of opinion that the time had arrived when the Confederacy was strong enough to bear dividing into two—and that the interests of the Northern and Southern States were become sufficiently diverse to require it. Since the passing of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the animosity has been doubled. The spectacle of men,
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women, and children, who had settled in the Free States as an asylum, dragged away from among them by their pursuing owners, has greatly excited the New Englanders. We read lately in the newspapers of a slave recaptured after five years' freedom; and another case of a female far advanced in pregnancy, whose offspring of course would become the property of her captor. Ten years ago, Lord Carlisle says, there were people who made it the business of their lives to superintend the passage of the runaway slaves through the Free States, and about a thousand negroes yearly thus made their way into Canada. Colonel Cunynghame does not surprise us by stating that the exertions for the escape of slaves have been largely stimulated by the Fugitive Bill; and that the influx of Black immigrants of loose habits into the Provinces was producing every day more and more annoyance to our magistracy and police.

It is true that the hearts of both ends of the Union are still very proud of belonging to a great country so rapidly growing—far too proud to forego this boast without some most serious motive; yet it seems impossible to doubt that the question of slavery will ultimately tear asunder the Confederacy. Such a dissolution, Mr. Johnston tells us, was a topic discussed everywhere in the States. Clingman and his followers had already 'brought it up' in Congress as a thing to be expected, were California admitted (as she has been), and other Free State measures adopted; and it will doubtless occur as soon as the States of this class obtain a decided superiority in the Legislature. Of late years their party has been greatly increased by the new Free States that have sprung up in the West. It is alleged that the main impulse to the war with Mexico was given by the desire of the Southerners to regain their equality, by capturing and erecting into slaveholding States the immense territory of Texas—which they have accomplished. It is notorious that the violent opposition to the incorporation of California arose from the anxiety of the South to exclude from Congress, and of the North to admit, the deputies of this great *Free State*.* Indeed this question of Slavery

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* If the leading journal of California expresses the sentiments of the new State, the danger from its admission into the Union is not so imminent as the Southern States suppose; and the resplendent peroration of the following extract ought, as the writer intends, to *soothe* them:—'For the last fifteen years,' says the *Alta California*, 'in our Northern States there has existed a class, many of them of pure minds and honest desires, but at the same time men whose ideas encompassed but a small space, who in every possible manner have warred against the institution of slavery among their Southern brethren. The action at the North necessarily caused a re-action at the South; and during the stormy times that attended the ushering in to our bright constellation of a sister star sparkling with golden radiance, fanatics of the North and South were busy hurling their revengeful meteors at us, at the constellation of which

or No Slavery lies at the bottom of some of the most vital political moves of the day. It is to rivet their superiority, or at least to form themselves into a powerful dominion, that the Southern States steadily, though cautiously, agitate for the occupation of Cuba;* it is to secure the triumph of the Free system that the North longs for the annexation of Canada. It is not a little due to this opposition of interests that the indolent Dons still hold possession of the Queen of the Antilles; and, after the California debate, it is beyond all question that the voice of the South would be vehemently raised against any attempt to annex the British Provinces.

Although, in theory, the federal compact is a voluntary union of sovereign States, which may be dissolved whenever even one of them thinks its interest will be promoted by the separation; yet, when an emergency arrives, the majority, if large, may be expected to resist such a separation by force of arms. Such, at least, is the common impulse of mankind in like circumstances; and such in fact was the avowed expectation of many even in the Northern States whom Mr. Johnston heard speak upon the subject. 'It amused me,' he says, 'to hear men in one breath talk of annexing Canada and Nova Scotia, and threaten vengeance against the traitor States which should break up the integrity of the Union!' Will there be an armed struggle between the North and South? And if so, may not the exigencies of such a contest demand a Dictator instead of a President—nay, gradually rear up a royalty in the chosen domain of democracy? This is peculiarly probable with respect to the Southern States, both from the naturally aristocratic feelings of the people, and from the greater peril of their position—exposed alike to hostility without and treachery within—to the hatred, open or disguised, of White and Black. Will there be that horror of horrors, a servile war? Profiting by the strife of rival States, will the Negroes battle their way to freedom, and establish an African Government amid the sons of Japhet? Never, in our day, unless aided by the Northerners; and dare the New Englanders fight with such a poisoned

we were a part, and at the glorious sun, our blessed Union, around which we all revolve. But the "fair young form with flashing gems" shining around her brow has taken her seat among the starry sisterhood; and her presence, free, untrammelled, and unprejudiced, must have a soothing effect upon the passions of her separated sisters.'

* Peradventure the grand sable *Empire* itself is not exempt from danger. 'If Hayti gets into a collision with the United States,' says an American paper, in reference to a recent and perhaps still pending disagreement, 'it will be a serious matter for Faustin, as there are several old scores that will be wiped out at the same time.' The inhabitants of a country are not always of immediate value to a conqueror; but the slave gentry of the Southern States would find a mint of money in St. Domingo.

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arrow? Would it be possible for enlightened and pious advocates of the coloured race to abet them in a warfare which, whatever the other results, must deepen and indefinitely prolong their barbarism?

But serious as are the perils menacing the Confederacy in Eastern America, it has become a matter of grave doubt with many in the States whether the danger of disunion is not now greater on the coasts of the Pacific. Will California and Oregon submit to have their laws made for them so far off as Washington? Will they consent to pay import-duties at these remote spots, not merely for the maintenance of a Federal Government, but for the protection of manufactures in New England? These and other similar questions cannot be long staved off. In a few years, when the Anglo-Saxon population on the Pacific shall have increased, and become somewhat consolidated, a tariff based upon principles not very different from those of Free Trade is an almost inevitable consequence. Among them Free Trade should find its surest home; if *they* repudiate it, it will indeed go a begging on the face of the earth. It is agriculture in old States, or infant manufactures in new ones, which ever repel the alluring phantasm of so-called Reciprocity; and the encouragement of one or both of these interests is felt to be a necessity in every country of the globe. California is the only exception. In it neither agriculture nor manufacture, nor both combined, can claim to be the staple concern. The land there, as everywhere else, is a *raw material*; but it is gold, not grain, that they manufacture out of it. So circumstanced—separated from the other States by interest not less than by distance and the barriers of nature—growing with the rapidity of the gourd and the strength of the oak, California can well stand alone. She will not pay dear for leading-strings, when she can walk in the path of empire with the stride of a giant.

The abrogation of our navigation laws has exposed our mercantile marine to a competition which at present they seem unable to make head against. Foremost are the Americans, who have beat us hollow in the carrying trade with China, who are running us hard on every other line, and who boast that they will speedily supplant us generally, and win from Old England the sceptre of the seas. The excitement on this point is extreme in all the ports of the Union. Mr. Johnston's book bears witness to it; the American papers are full of it; and the interest in the struggle between the two great rivals is as strong, and the *Io Pæans* for the *coming* triumph as loud, at San Francisco as at New York. Let us gather the spirit of the Californian press on this subject.

ject. The writer of an article entitled 'San Francisco's Future' says:—

'What city can ever arise on the western coast of North America to rival her? Certainly none now having even a nucleus of population and business. There is not a point from Puget's Sound to Cape St. Lucas—we might say to Panamá—which possesses the possibility of ever becoming a rival. . . . Realejo and Panamá can neither be made rivals to us by all the railroads or all the ship-canals that have ever entered the imagination of the most speculative, because of their tropical and unhealthy position. What results? Why, that San Francisco must be the great entrepot of the immense ocean, whither most of its countless keels will tend. The time is coming, too, when it will become the greatest whaling port in the world. With all the fine ports and great cities of Asia it is to have intercourse, and none other can interfere. Men cannot make seaports. Heaven has done this for us; and our beautiful bay cannot, by all the combinations of earth, be despoiled of her position and destiny. We have the population. The Americanized Saxon blood will do it.'

Here is part of an editorial *jubilate* on the sailing of four huge steamers from San Francisco on the 15th of March last:—

'Four ocean-steamers, laden with passengers and treasure! Three years ago, and no steamer had ever puffed her way up or down our coast, or on our rivers; and now we may almost challenge any of the Atlantic cities to exhibit such a spectacle as we shall witness here to-morrow. If we progress in steam navigation *during the year to come* as we have for the year past, we shall have lines of steamers established from San Francisco to the islands of the Pacific, to China, to our whole northern and southern coasts direct, and perhaps to Liverpool.'

Now for their views on 'Commercial Supremacy':—

'In every sea where England had for nearly two hundred years been supreme, she now finds a hardy, bold, and shrewd competitor in the Yankee, who brings his own commodities in his own ships, and offers them at a successful price by the side of hers. The commerce of India aggrandised in turn the Venetians, the Portuguese, and the Dutch. England took it from *them*; and will soon be ready to hand it over to *us*. For here, on the Pacific coast, the Waterloo of Trade is to be fought. We must beat our great competitor with our home products, and coin with those she produces herself. If she chooses to break down our own markets with too great a supply of her manufactured goods, we will use them to undersell her on her own choice preserves in Mexico and South America. We cannot escape our destiny if we would. It will be a struggle of intense interest; but *of the result there can be no question*. The Yankee, with his clipper ships—his steamers—his enterprise, his skill, his unceasing activity—will defeat his rival; and after establishing a successful trade with all his

his neighbours on the coast, he will then see open before him that *great Oriental trade* which has contributed so much to the proud commercial supremacy of Britain.'

The news from California (besides the usual catalogue of destructive fires) shows that the country is still in a most disorderly state. The executive is too weak for the lawless bands with which it has to deal; and the increase of crime is attributed partly to the influx of escaped convicts from our Australian colonies. That the people are horror-struck by the frequency of robberies and assassinations is evidenced by the fact that Lynch-law has been established in several districts. Among the victims of this summary jurisprudence the case of an Englishman has excited a newspaper controversy—it being alleged by some (probably private friends, however) that he would not have been so treated but for the prejudice against him as a native of the Old Country. The mines continue very productive; but the operations are impeded by the Indian tribes, who have of late taken every opportunity to massacre detached parties. Several bodies of the State troops and of volunteers had moved upon the scene of these violences. Conferences had been opened with the Indians; but attacks were still occurring, and we expect that the next mails will bring bloody tidings from the foot-hills of the Sierra Nevada. If the Californian volunteers once get into warfare, the Indians will meet with no mercy; there will be *razzias* as complete as any made by the 'moving columns' of Bugeaud or Changarnier. The hunters of the Far West, and indeed the whole frontier-men of the States, care as little for the life of a Redskin as for that of a buffalo. And to all appearance the time is not far distant when the aborigines of America will have vanished, like a heaven-doomed race, from the face of the earth. What a theme for reflection is this annihilation of races!—an annihilation to which the archæology of almost every land bears witness. Over the corpses of his predecessors the Anglo-Saxon is now striding forward; and the death-bell is ringing for the old denizens of the Australian and American worlds.

Not even excepting the wild, demoralising life of the gold-seeker, the greatest social evil at present afflicting the Californians is the scarcity of females. Those persons are wrong who see in the relation of the sexes in the United States only an imitation of French gallantry. It is the natural result of this scarcity. For two hundred years a tide of emigration, chiefly male, has been flowing from Europe to America; and in the three years 1847, 1848, 1849, an excess of no less than 142,000 men thus entered the States, bringing in as many extra competitors for the hands of the native-born women. As these emigrants spread themselves

themselves over the land, the unmarried females among them are picked up before they have proceeded far from the sea-board; and thus the scarcity increases the farther westward we go; and the value at which they are estimated by the men and by themselves rises, till, in the Far West, they attain a famine price—and there we have the paradise of women. The same cause has operated in the opposite way among ourselves. The thousands of our native youth who emigrate, never to return, leave behind a superfluity of the other sex. And thus, as in the time of Medea, if a woman has not wherewithal to buy a husband—beauty, fortune, connexions—she must wear out her unsought affections in an unvalued and perhaps laborious life. *Utrum horum?**

Not to mention weightier matters deeply influencing national morals—if the American ladies turn up their noses at the general submissiveness (*servility* they call it) of their sisters of England, we think it would not be difficult to point out frailties, perhaps less amiable, among themselves. Their freedom from parental restraint borders too closely on rebellion; and their greater self-reliance and absence of reserve exposes them, especially in large cities, to dangers from which our women are comparatively exempt. Moreover ‘spoilt beauties,’ or non-beauties, are more common, in proportion to the female population, than with us; and sought after, courted, and indulged as they are, this is not to be wondered at. But it is of material importance in the choice of a wife. Not merely do the rude but simple-hearted trappers of the Far West prefer a Taos girl, or other of Spanish stock, to the delicate and over-nice fair ones of the States, but, as Mr. Johnston reports, the very Yankees in the St. Lawrence districts hold a somewhat similar opinion. ‘I’ll go over to Canada for a wife, when I marry,’ said a young south-shore farmer to his friend. ‘When I come home at night she’ll have a nice blazing fire on, and a clean kitchen, and a comfortable supper for me: but if I marry a New-Yorker, it’ll be, when I come home, John, go down to the well for some water; or, John, go and bring some logs to put on the fire, to boil the kettle. No, no; a Canadian woman’s the wife for me.’

This greater influence of the female sex will not be without good fruits for the humbler orders throughout America, if it bar

* The decennial census of the population of Glasgow, just published, shows that the females exceed the males in that city by more than *sixteen thousand*. In Edinburgh, the excess of females in the Old Town is $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; in the New there are actually 154 women for every 100 men! In Limerick the disproportion is still more extraordinary, there being only 16,000 men to 28,000 women, or nearly two females to each male. We have taken these cases at random; but they are important, as showing the actual ratio in the two great cities of Scotland, as well as in a principal seaport town of Ireland.

out one frightful abuse which prevails among the working classes in this country. 'It has been computed (says Mr. Johnston) that, among those whose earnings are from 10s. to 15s. weekly, at least one-half is spent by the man upon objects (tobacco, spirits, &c.) in which the other members of the family have no share. Among artisans earning from 20s. to 30s. weekly, it is said that at least one-third of the amount is in many cases thus selfishly devoted.' American society may consent to many inconveniences, if it can save itself from the spread among its skilled labourers of such habits as these.

In the face of this dearth and high estimation of the female sex, behold a strange contrast springing up within the Republican borders. The Mormons, amidst the Christianity of the Far West, are reproducing the polygamism of the East. Nay, worse—far worse; for no man in the world surpasses the Mussulman in the jealousy with which he regards the honour of his women, but little of such a feeling is to be found among the promiscuous hive of the Mormonites. Their 'exhorters,' professing the most pious adhesion to the doctrines of the Gospel, claim liberties which justified Luther in giving to kindred sinners of old their priestly name of 'fathers.' Yet the sect is fast increasing; and it is mortifying to learn that most numerous accessions are daily made to it from this country. From Liverpool *alone* the *known* Mormon emigrants have amounted to about 15,000; and they have, on the whole, been superior to, and better provided than, the other classes of emigrants. 'Under the name of Latter-Day Saints,' says Mr. Johnston, 'the delusions of the system are hidden from the masses by the emissaries who have been dispatched into various countries to recruit their numbers among the ignorant and devoutly-inclined lovers of novelty. Who can tell what two centuries may do in the way of giving an historical position to this rising heresy?'

Their practices excited uncontrollable disgust wherever they first congregated; and even 'universal toleration' could not shield them from its effects. Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, wild as they are, would have nothing to do with them; and after various struggles and combats, their chief, Joe Smith, and some of his profligate 'saints,' were killed 'right off' by the incensed populace of the last-named State. The rest then betook themselves 'right off;' and after traversing the wide prairies, the deserts of the Far West, and the Rocky Mountains, they finally pitched their tents near the Great Salt Lake in Oregon. Here they increase and multiply, in the midst of a vast champaign, running north and south for hundreds of miles, isolated by sandy deserts or the briny lake, separated from the elder States by the Rocky Mountains, from California

California by the Sierra Nevada; and here they are building their Cities of the Plain. Their position—an entrepôt, midway on the overland route to California—must of itself ensure importance. Already they have a place on the map, and are striving after higher honours. They form the nucleus of the new dominion of Utah, this year erected into an independent territory of the Great Republic, 'and placed by the President under the orders of Governor Young, Chief of this Sect.'—(*Cunynghame*, p. 134.) This Utah, all reporters agree, is likely, in the very next session of Congress, to be elevated to the dignity of a sovereign State. 'So rapidly (says Mr. Johnston) has persecution helped on this offspring of ignorance, and tended to give a permanent establishment, and a bright future, to a system not simply of pure invention, but of blasphemous impiety and folly the most insane.' The strange sight will soon be seen of Mormon deputies at Washington, shaming Christendom with their retinue of women. What will the proud fair of the Western States say then? Unless the wild Missourians remember their old grudge, and intercept the polygamous cavalcade by their favourite tar-and-feathers, there is no help for it. Each State can make what social laws it pleases, and these laws must be tolerated throughout the rest of the Union; so that the Utah deputies may parade their harem through the streets of Washington, 'none daring to make them afraid;' and may recover a runaway wife (if they think it worth while), by means of the public authorities, in the same way as if she were a fugitive slave.

To return to our own provinces—Mr. Johnston's remarks upon the present condition of the descendants of the original French settlers in Lower Canada and New Brunswick, though scattered over different parts of his work, are worth collating from their clearness and discrimination. In language, habits, feelings, and religion, they are little changed since the day when Wolf won Quebec—except that, according to all calm witnesses, time has softened the animosity of the vanquished to their conquerors. Inhabiting a pre-eminently healthy country, where there is not an ague even among the forests and marshes, and possessed of that cheerful *insouciance* so favourable to the vital functions, they marry early and multiply rapidly. At Kamouraska Mr. Johnston stopped to get a fresh horse and carriage, and on starting (doubtless knowing a Frenchman's foible), expressed to the new *cocher* his admiration of his pretty young wife, and inquired her age. 'One-and-twenty.' 'And how long have you been married?' 'Six years—and she was a widow when I married her.' Fourteen and fifteen is a common age for the marriage of females, and eighteen for males, on the shores of the St. Lawrence. And the women continue prolific to a comparatively

paratively advanced period of life. 'My driver,' says Mr. Johnston in another place, 'was one of fourteen children—was himself the father of fourteen, and assured me that from eight to sixteen was the usual number of the farmers' families. He even named one or two women who had brought their husbands five-and-twenty, and threatened *le vingt-sixième pour le prêtre!* [This alludes to the allotment of a twenty-sixth part of the produce of the land to the priests.] I expressed my surprise at these large families. 'Oui, Monsieur,' said he, 'vous avez raison. Nous sommes terribles pour les enfants.' The result is, there are added to this fertile population *four* persons for every *one* added to that of England.

Lower Canada presents perplexing diversities; and among these are the various modes of holding land. The country is laid out in townships and seignories—the tenure in the former being by *socage* (*i. e.*, free, by grant or purchase from the Crown)—in the latter, *en fief* from the seigneurs. These free and feudal settlements intermingle, yet differ totally from each other in religion, habits, systems of agriculture, style of houses, and partially also in their laws—almost everything being British in the townships and French in the seignories. The lands held in feudal tenure were almost all granted before our conquest, and amount to about nine million acres; those in socage extend to about seven million acres, only half of which have now been granted off. The remainder of the province is known as the Waste Lands of the Crown—all liable to be granted either in feudal or socage tenure at the pleasure of the sovereign. The population of the townships is still small in proportion to that of the whole province, but is rapidly increasing; and, though hitherto with little success, every inducement is held out for the gradual conversion of the feudal into the socage tenure. It is a remarkable thing to find feudalism still existing, and on a large scale, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in the liberty-loving regions of the New World. England respected it when she conquered Canada; and, after all, it is not even now without its advantages. It is favourable to the reclaiming of the country, and makes it easy for the poor and the young to establish themselves in life. All that a young *habitant* has to do is to go to his seigneur and ask his permission (which is never refused) to settle on some portion of unoccupied land, and thenceforward a small annual rent is all that is required of him, and he becomes the legitimate possessor of the ground he farms. In Canada feudalism has lost all its repulsive features.

'Though seigneurs exist there,' says M. Marmier, 'they have
neither

neither serfs nor vassals. The seigneur transmits his titles and rights to his eldest son. He has a reserved seat in the church; the priest presents him with the holy water, and recommends him and his family to the prayers of the faithful, according to the old customs of France. But his annual rents, remaining at the same rate as in the seventeenth century, are of little value. He indeed gathers also a fee (one-twelfth of the price) upon each sale or exchange of land within his seignory; and this becomes considerable when the land is cultivated and houses have been erected upon it. These dues, however, the seigneurs are reducing, out of respect to the altered circumstances of the times. Thus the Seminary of St. Sulpice, which is seigneur of the Isle of Montreal, and whose original right would now produce a revenue quite enormous, has successively lowered its rate of charge, and is every day making new concessions. Nevertheless, as this reduction is not compulsory, and as some seigneurs have declined to grant it, much dissatisfaction is arising, and the demagogues are demanding the total overthrow of the seignorial edifice. Their clamours have already resounded more than once within the walls of Parliament. Certainly they will not succeed, at least not soon, in accomplishing their act of demolition, for they could not, in common justice, despoil the seigneurs of their rights without giving them an indemnity,—and that would be no small affair. But it is probable that, in next session, the Ministry will bring in a bill for establishing a regular tariff of dues on the succession to property.'

Few travellers make any mention of these seigneurs. Several of them, we believe, are now the sole representatives of once eminent families of French noblesse. The most are understood to have no such heraldic claims. In a pamphlet published a good many years ago, the Right Hon. Sir George Rose, formerly our minister at Washington, gave some curious details as to their *titles*—which seem to have been largely manufactured out of the *regimental nicknames* of the bold dragoons sent out as settlers by Louis Quatorze, and accompanied, under his paternal orders, by helpmates collected from off the streets of Paris by his lieutenant of police. The present titularies—whether real old nobles, or only *Marquesses de Rouge-Bec*, *Barons de L'Isle d'Amour*, and so forth—seem to be almost invisible. We find in the books before us but one distinct notice of them, namely, where M. Marnier speaks of 'deux aristocratiques habitations' at St. Hyacinthe on the Samaska.

'This village,' he says, 'is the chief place of a seignury *twenty-three leagues in extent*, belonging to an agreeable young man who has travelled much in Europe, and brought back with him a liberal mind and varied information. I could have believed myself in a *salon* of Paris, from the aspect of the works of art with which he has surrounded himself. But what resembles in nothing our dear country is the prospect which spreads out beneath his windows—the

rustic

rustic banks of the Samaska, the immense silent plain, dotted with sombre woods cut only on one side by the faint blue heights of Belœil, and spreading away to the north like a shoreless sea. M. de S— has for neighbour a proprietor wealthy and well informed, at whose house I spent a pleasant evening, listening to two children, fresh and rosy as two strawberries of the woods, who sang, to the accompaniment of the piano, Canadian melodies and the simple wild songs of the forest.

By a Royal ordonnance of 1745 houses were forbidden to be erected on farms of less extent than one acre and a half in front and forty in depth; but, though Canada had been ours long before the Revolution, its principles as to division of property have been in practice very largely adopted among the French population. The right of primogeniture is no longer binding; and in many cases, instead of leaving the home-farm to the eldest, the family of sons parcel it among themselves. Four sons will divide a possession of two arpents in front, and thirty or forty backwards, into four long stripes of half an arpent broad in front, and thirty or forty in length. Thus the evils attendant upon the original bad shape of the farms become manifold increased; the *morcellement* proceeds, in some localities, as rapidly as in so many districts of France and Belgium; and the poverty of the people advances in proportion. It is the exact counterpart of the subdivision into long stripes which has led to such woful results among the subtenantry in Ireland—a similar Celtic population.

Such a subdivision, followed by the building of houses along the roadside upon each lot, has great effect in adding to the apparent populousness. Continuous rows of houses, separated by one or two intervening fields, accompany you for miles of journey. In fact, wherever the country is fully settled, this is the case—unless the traveller happens to turn up a cross-road, when a couple of miles *may* occasionally be passed without meeting with a farmer's house. This peculiar arrangement of the farms—adopted at first to concentrate the resources of the young colony, and to provide against the attacks of the Indians—has been adhered to, no doubt, from that love of society for which the French population are remarkable, alike in Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. But such a system is very adverse to agricultural improvement. 'The amount of labour, both for men and horses,' says Mr. Johnston, 'is much increased by placing the centre of operations and the home of the labourers and stock at the extremity of these stripes; and the difficulty is greater in properly superintending the farm. Separated more widely from each other, too, they might possibly gossip less and labour more.'

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In many places the outward resemblance of this people to our poorer Irish is very striking. The broken panes in the windows are stuffed with old hats, and the clothes of the peasantry often in tatters. The smart French character of not a few modern houses, whitened over with quicklime, suggests a growing aversion to live in the old Celtic filth;—even these more inviting abodes, however, are within anything but clean and comfortable—according to our notions; and then, what is Irish enough, the new taste for this kind of display too often leads the farmer to spend upon a dwelling what he must raise by a mortgage upon his acres—in the upshot losing both house and land, and compelled to begin the world anew in a log-house. Though comparatively uneducated, they are ready-witted; and in morals, all writers assign them a high place. Robbery and violence are unknown among them—even theft is almost unheard of. They are modest and simple-hearted; and owing probably to the practice of early marriages, the sexual licence, too prevalent in France, is here altogether absent. They are an easy, gay, goodnatured race. They never seek employment abroad so long as they have a barrel of flour in the house; and when hired they are not to be depended upon as servants. A trifle will take them away from their work—and so many church-holidays interfere with it—for they are all zealous Roman Catholics—that British settlers rarely retain them unless when no other *helps* are to be had, or when they are willing to bind themselves to regular attendance, despite of their Saints' days.

These are not men able to cope with the sturdy Anglo-Saxon in the great battle of life; and wherever the two races are intermingled the French go to the wall. At Belledune, for instance, the present settlers are Ayrshire men, though all this coast was not long since extensively occupied by the French. These canny Scots have their wits about them wherever 'Johnny Crapaud' happens to possess good or easily improvable land. His thoughtlessness and improvidence give them too many opportunities of buying him out; and the *habitans* are fast retiring into the interior.

'With all this,' says Mr. Johnston, 'the French are the most cheerful people in this country; and one cannot mix with them without feeling that their easy contentment may possibly be more productive of positive worldly happiness than the restless, discontented, striving, burning energy of their neighbours.'

Mr. Johnston, like most other travellers in the United States, was struck with the gravity and decorum with which public discussions are there usually carried on, and the complete apparent self-possession of the speakers. Our insular nervousness is a thing
unknown

unknown to the American republican. Acknowledging no higher rank than his own, and naturally thinking his own opinion the right one, he expresses his sentiments with a confident frankness, which among us is only the result of long training. Partly also, says Mr. Johnston, it is to be attributed to the undisciplined and uncontrolled way in which children are brought up; and he gives the following little anecdote in illustration:—

‘A friend of mine had a boy of twelve or thirteen years employed in his office to run messages. This boy several times brought me notes, and while waiting for an answer, he would walk first to one table and examine the books and papers, then to another and do the same; and, finally, to the mirror and arrange his hair in the coolest manner imaginable. I was amused with this for one or two visits. At last I said to him that in my country we did not approve of little errand-boys taking such liberties and showing so much conceit when they came into a gentleman’s rooms; and I requested that when he came in future he would sit down quietly till I wrote an answer. The boy was amazed, but was very respectful ever after. His master told me nothing had ever mortified him so much, and at the same time done him so much good; but, when I asked why he had never set the boy right himself, he gave me no reply. On telling the matter to an American lady of my acquaintance, however, she asked me immediately—“Were you not afraid to speak to the boy in that way? That boy may be President of the United States yet.” “And what then?” “Why, he might do you a great deal of harm.” It was now my turn to look amazed. It is not a persuasion that it is best for the boy which restrains reproof, but a fear that it may be worse for the reprover. This fear of one another, I was assured by various persons, amounts often to a species of tyranny throughout this Union.’

This mode of training the young is one of the most important of the social and domestic traits by which the United States are distinguished from our own homes, and from most, if not all, of our colonies. What would even the ancient republics of Greece and Rome have thought of such a ‘running wild’ of children? How would Cato or Cicero have stood aghast at the following anecdote, narrated to Mr. Johnston by a friend?—

‘A settler of many years at Dalhousie, a shoemaker by trade, had saved 500*l.* in money, and had five or six boys growing up, when he took it in his head to go off to Wisconsin. Six months after his departure, a small vessel from Quebec entered the harbour of Dalhousie, and, when evening came on, a depressed-looking man in shabby clothing landed and walked up to my house. I was surprised to recognise my old neighbour the shoemaker. “You are surprised,” he said; “but though I was a fool to go away, I have had courage enough to come back. When I had got to Wisconsin, my boys—who had been good boys here—began to neglect their work and dis-

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regard me. I durst not correct them, sir, or I should have been mobbed. They soon learned this, and my authority was gone. My heart was sore—my money was melting away—my children were a sorrow instead of a comfort to me, and talked of starting for themselves. I sold off and came down to Canada. "Now, my boys," says I, "I have got you under the British flag again, and we'll have no more rebellion." So I kept my boys in hand—but we didn't get on as we used to do—and at last I determined to come back to Dalhousie. What's the world to me, sir, if my boys are to be a vexation to me? But I haven't a penny of money; and our clothing is so scanty that I am ashamed to bring them all ashore in daylight.'

The independence of behaviour produced by the doctrine of perfect individual equality shows itself sometimes in very amusing ways:—

'I was told at Boston,' says Mr. Johnston, 'of a gentleman in the neighbourhood, who, having engaged a farm-servant, found him very satisfactory in all respects, except that he invariably came into the house, and even into his master's room, with his hat on. "John," he said to him one day, "you always keep your hat on when you come into the house." "Well, sir, haven't I a right to?" "Yes, I suppose you have." "Well, if I have a right to, why shouldn't I?" This was a poser. After a moment's reflection he shrewdly asked, "Now, John, what'll you take—how much more wages will you ask—to take your hat off when you come in?" "Well, that requires consideration, I guess." "Take the thing into consideration then, and tell me to-morrow morning." The morrow comes. "Well, John, have you considered?" "Well, sir, I guess it's worth a dollar a month." "It's settled then, John, you shall have another dollar a month;" and the gentleman retained a good servant, while John's hat was always in his hand when he entered the house in future. So works democracy. The Kentucky people cast in the teeth of the Bostonians that they worship the almighty dollar. At all events, even in a democracy, the stiffest has his price, and wealth cannot be deprived of a certain amount of influence.'

'Travelling much in the stage-coaches,' says Lord Carlisle, 'I found it amusing to sit by the different coachmen, who were generally youths from the Eastern States, pushing their way in life, and full of fresh and racy talk. One of them, who probably came from New York—where they do not like to use the word *master* in speaking of their employers, but prefer an old Dutch name, *boss*—said to me, "I suppose the Queen is your boss now?"'

This Lecture is a model of what a discourse on such a subject, delivered to a popular assembly, should be. It is a series of pictures—or *etchings*—clear and compendious, of the leading men and leading places in America, and evinces at once delicacy of observation and the gentlest and kindest heart. From a production

so widely circulated we must borrow but sparingly. Here is a masterly sketch from the rail.

‘From Albany to Utica the railroad follows the stream of the Mohawk, which recalls the name of the early Indian dwellers in that bright valley, still retaining its swelling outline of wood-covered hills, but gay with prosperous villages and busy cultivation. I was perhaps still more struck the next evening, though it was a more level country, where the railway passes in the midst of the uncleared or clearing forest, and suddenly bursts out of a pine glade or cedar swamp into the heart of some town, probably four, three, or two years old, with tall white houses, well-lighted shops, billiard-rooms, &c.; and emerging, as we did, from the dark shadows into the full moonlight, the wooden spires, domes, and porticos of the infant cities looked every bit as if they had been hewn out of the marble quarries of Carrara. I am aware that it is not the received opinion—but there is something both in the outward aspect of this region and the general state of society accompanying it which to me seemed eminently poetical. What can be more striking or stirring, despite the occasional rudeness of the forms, than all this enterprise, energy, and life, welling up in the desert? At the towns of Syracuse, of Auburn, and of Rochester, I experienced the sort of feeling which takes away one’s breath; the process seemed actually going on before one’s eyes, and one hardly knows whether to think it as grand as the Iliad, or as quaint as a harlequin farce.’

Take this a specimen of the town-pictures.

‘I took up my winter quarters at New York. I thought this, the commercial and fashionable, though not the political capital of the Union, a very brilliant city. To give the best idea of it, I should describe it as something of a fusion between Liverpool and Paris—crowded quays, long perspectives of vessels and masts, bustling streets, gay shops, tall white houses, and a clear brilliant sky overhead. There is an absence of solidity in the general appearance, but in some of the new buildings they are successfully availing themselves of their ample resources in white marble and granite. At the point of the Battery, where the long thoroughfare of Broadway, extending some miles, pushes its green fringe into the wide harbour of New York, with its glancing waters and graceful shipping, and the limber, long raking masts, which look so different from our own, and the soft swelling outline of the receding shores; it has a special character and beauty of its own. I spent about a month here very pleasantly; the society appeared to me, on the whole, to have a less solid and really refined character than that of Boston, but there is more of animation, gaiety, and sparkle in the daily life. In point of hospitality, neither could outdo the other.’

The rapid growth of New York and other cities of America is a leading topic with all travellers; and we are in the habit of hearing so much of this, that we are apt to forget what is doing nearer us. Our Transatlantic cousins, justly proud and delighted with

with their progress, and above troubling themselves with investigating the causes of it, make each other believe that they stand alone as an innately energetic people. Moreover, ninety-nine out of every hundred of our emigrants know little or nothing of their native kingdom beyond the locality in which they have been brought up, and generally nothing more than the outside appearance of that; so that when they cross the Atlantic everything is as new and wonderful to them as London or Birmingham would be if they had been taken to these cities instead, and they very soon gratify all they talk to by agreeing that what they have not seen does not exist, and 'that there is nothing equal to this in the Old Country.' To such persons it is of no consequence that fifty physiologists assert that the Anglo-Saxon race degenerates in America, and that it cannot be kept up beyond its natural region without constant accessions of new blood. They point to New York as a fact worth a dozen theories. But the growth of this city proves nothing on the general subject—it is a testimony to the energy of its actual inhabitants, but nothing more. As the Atlantic port of an interior country of great extent and vast promise, New York has certainly attracted many native-born Americans to settle within its bounds for the purposes of traffic; but it is from this side of the Atlantic that its main increase has been drawn. Every manufacturing district in Europe, and every large commercial port, has sent its agencies and branch establishments with similar trading objects; so that, during these sixty years, New York may be said to have been built up by Europe rather than by the exertions of America herself.

The progress in population of Glasgow and New York, says Mr. Johnston, is represented by the following decennial returns:—

	1800-1.	1820-1.	1830-1.	1840-1.	1845.	1850.
Glasgow,	77,000	147,043	202,426	282,134	—	367,800
New York,	60,489	123,706	203,007	312,710	371,102	Probably 400,000

'These numbers show that, without any of the advantages of an enormous transit-trade, Glasgow has in a remarkable degree kept pace with New York. During the first thirty years of the century, New York barely gained upon it the original difference of 17,000 souls. During the last twenty, its comparative progress has been more rapid. But then *two-fifths of the New York population are foreigners born, and they and their families make up more than half the inhabitants.* Both cities, it is true, have been almost equally indebted to immigration, but—except the low Irish who have been drifted into both cities, and who are an incubus rather than an aid, and far from being an element of progress—Glasgow is peopled wholly by native-born Scotch. This city, therefore, may be regarded as a true testimony to the enterprise and perseverance of the people who inhabit the western Lowlands of Scotland. It is far more wonderful, as the result of half a century

a century of exclusively home exertion, than the rapid rise of New York is, or than that of any other American city in which I have been.

'The inland city of Birmingham with its suburbs is not less an illustration of native energy. Since the beginning of the century its progress has been as follows:—

1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1841.	1851.
73,670	85,755	100,722	146,986	220,000	300,000

It does not equal either Glasgow or New York in size—but its growth, in the centre of an inland district, through the instrumentality of native-born talent working upon native mineral productions, leaves no doubt as to the physiological question of the inherent energy of the home-born who inhabit it.'

The value of immigrants to America may be judged of by the fact that, assuming each to bring with him only 10*l.*, this, for the 200,000 who yearly land at New York alone, makes an annual addition of two millions sterling to the money capital of the country. Then a single year's labour of these 200,000 in agricultural operations upon new land, must add at least 5*l.* a-head, or another million to the capital of the new States; while the increased consumption of imported articles, by the added population, augments the *federal revenue*, which is—and in spite of our preaching and practice will continue to be—derived from the duties levied upon imports.

It is Europe, therefore, that is the main-spring of the wondrous growth of the United States—European capital, European hands, and European energy. The revolts, revolutions, and proscriptions of the Continent, and the bitter discontents and overflowing population of these our islands, are the life and aggrandizement of the Great Republic. New emigrants are not mere additions to its stock of labour and capital; they consist of, or at least comprehend, those daring and resolute, if not always prudent spirits, who are driven from disturbed, or who voluntarily leave more peaceful countries. Thus, a stream of select men is constantly flowing from Europe, by whose audacious activity the filling up of the vast western continent is hurried forward, its material resources developed, and, by the sacrifice of many foreign lives, the first difficulties of settling it overcome. 'If all the native-born Americans,' says Mr. Johnston, 'not being the sons or grandsons of Europeans, were to sit down and fold their hands and go to sleep, the progress of the country would scarcely be a whit less rapid, so long as peace between America and Europe is maintained.' But disturb by the signals of war the now undreaded navigation of the Atlantic, and this stream of brave hearts is arrested. Thenceforward the population, like that of European States, will augment by a natural increase of tamer men only.

The superfluous mind of other countries, the greater force of character which is produced by the breaking up of home associations, and by the excitement of a new world, as well as the influence of its example on the minds and character of the native-born, will all be lost. The great breadth of unsettled land would then, like the forests and plains of Russia and Poland, rather indicate what the country *might* become, than what, within any assignable time, it is likely to be.

Another set of facts is properly dwelt upon by the same writer. Of all quarters of the Union, the New England States, it is well known, receive the greatest influx of British settlers, and in character and habits approach most closely to the old country; and it is precisely by these restless New Englanders that the political, religious, and educational institutions of the great northern and western States are mainly influenced.

‘The emigrants who go out from Europe—the raw bricks for the new State buildings—are generally poor, and for the most part indifferently educated. Being strangers to the institutions of the country, and to their mode of working, and, above all, being occupied in establishing themselves, the rural settlers have little leisure or inclination to meddle with the direct regulation of public affairs for some years after they have first begun to hew their farms out of the solitary wilderness. The New Englanders come in to do this. The west is an outlet for their superfluous lawyers, their doctors, their ministers of various persuasions, their newspaper editors, their bankers, their merchants, and their pedlars. All the professions and influential positions are filled up by them. They are the movers in all the public measures that are taken in the organization of State governments, and the establishment of county institutions; and they occupy most of the legislative, executive, and other official situations, by means of which the State affairs are at first carried on. Thus the west presents an inviting field to the ambitious spirits of the east; and through their means the genius and institutions of the New England States are transplanted and diffused, and determine, in a great measure, those of the more westerly portions of the union.’

This paragraph helps to explain the phenomenon which of all others most astonishes the stranger—viz. the ‘power of absorption’ of the American character. Suppose a skilful chemist throwing five or six different ingredients into his crucible, and mingling and crushing them until he extracts one homogeneous essence, and we have an apt image of the moral and intellectual chemistry which is continually acting upon the population of the States. Its founders came from England, but ever since it has been receiving recruits from almost every country of Europe. Scotland, Ireland, Wales, France, Germany, the mountains of Switzerland, and the shores of the Baltic, nay, even distant and isolated Russia herself

herself—all have sent out representatives as to a congress of the nations. At first this agglomeration proceeded slowly and by small detachments, but now it annually consists of whole armies of artisans and tillers of the ground, and of thousands upon thousands of families.

'All these foreigners,' says M. Marmier, 'carry out with them their particular predilections and prejudices. At first the character of the American does not charm them—they are disagreeably surprised by his habits. They resolve to keep aloof from him, to live apart with their own countrymen, to preserve upon that distant continent the manners of their native land—and in their mother tongue they energetically protest that they never will become Americans. Vain is the project! useless the protestation! The American atmosphere envelopes them, and by its constant action weakens their recollections, dissolves their prejudices, decomposes their primitive elements. Little by little, by insensible modifications, they change their views and mode of living, adopt the usages and language of the Americans, and end by being absorbed in the American nation, as are the streamlets from the valleys in the great rivers that bear them onward to the ocean. How many are the honest Germans, who, after cursing the rudeness of American manners, and bitterly regretting their good kindly Fatherland, have come at last to stick their hat, Yankee fashion, on the back of their head, to stiffen themselves, like the Yankee, in a coat buttoned up to the chin, to disdain all the rules of European courtesy, and to use no other language but the consecrated dialect of business!'

This blending of the nations, this assimilation to one standard of so many different human tribes, bears certainly an unimpeachable testimony to the energy of the race which thus superinduces upon others its own characteristics. Brief as our limits compel us to be, we cannot quit this most remarkable phenomenon of American society without giving a few sentences of Lord Carlisle's, which contribute somewhat more to its elucidation. Amidst all their vaunted equality, he says, 'there is a more implicit deference to custom among the Americans, a more passive submission to what is assumed to be the public opinion of the day or hour, than would be paralleled in many aristocratic or even *despotic* communities.'

'This quiet acquiescence in the prevailing tone, this complete abnegation of individual sentiment, is naturally most perceptible in the domain of politics; but I thought that it also in no inconsiderable degree pervaded the social circle, biassed the decisions of the judicial bench, and even infected the solemn teachings of the pulpit. To this source may probably in some measure be traced the remarkable similarity in the manners, deportment, conversation, and tone of feeling, which has so generally struck travellers. Who that has seen can ever forget the slow and melancholy silence of the couples who walk arm-in-arm to the tables of the great hotel, or of the unsocial groups who

gather round the greasy meats of the steam-boat, lap up the five minutes' meal, come like shadows, so depart? One of their able public men made an observation to me, which struck me as pungent, and perhaps true—that it was probably the country in which there was less misery and less happiness than in any other of the world.'

In regard to the physiological conjecture that the Anglo-Saxon race does, and ever will, degenerate in the New World, all that we can gather from casual remarks in Mr. Johnston's book is confirmatory of the supposition. Take even provinces which lie nearly in the same latitude with us, and whose climate, of all others, most nearly resembles our own. A European landing in Halifax is pleased to see the fresh and blooming complexions of the females of all classes, and we may say of almost all ages; he will scarcely believe that in stepping from England to Nova Scotia he has reached a climate which bears heavier upon young looks and female beauty than our own. On this side the Atlantic it is in countries which, like Great Britain, Ireland, and Holland, are surrounded by an atmosphere rarely arid or dry, either from excessive cold or excessive heat, but which, more or less loaded with moisture, always softens and expands the skin, that health and freshness of complexion in both sexes is most conspicuous and most permanent. A similar phenomenon is more or less evident in mountainous districts, from the fogs and rains which so frequently visit them; and it is doubtless to the analogous climate of Nova Scotia, and other parts of the North American coast lying within the influence of the Gulf Stream, that the healthy looks of the people are mainly to be ascribed. Yet even here it seems to be the fact that, as a general rule, British-born settlers succeed better than the natives. And why? 'I could not help remarking,' says Mr. Johnston, 'that, in New Brunswick as a whole, the regularly settled inhabitants did not appear to work so hard as the same classes do at home.' 'No doubt,' he says when in another place, 'there must be some truth in the statement' (which he met with everywhere) 'that the sons and grandsons of British settlers do not display the same energy as their emigrant fathers.' 'Here, too,' he adds in a third district, 'the praise of superior industry and perseverance was awarded to the emigrant. This opinion from the mouths of natives is certainly very provoking, since I can sincerely say, after a very long tour in the province, that, in my opinion, a finer looking body of yeomanry is not to be seen in any part of the world. The first provincial-born generation shoots up tall and handsome men and women, pleasant to look upon. It may be that the more slender form is inclined less to steady labour, and that with the bodily figure the habits and tempers of the descendants of industrious settlers

settlers change also. But where men are subjected to so many new influences as they are in this new country, it is very difficult to specify or distinguish how much of any observed change of habits is due to each.

When speaking of the 'gloomy unsociableness' of the *tables d'hôte* in the States, Mr. Johnston has some observations which may be considered in connexion with the foregoing:—

'Whether this silence at table and rapidity of meals be a cause of indigestion, or a consequence of disease arising from other causes, it is certain that diseases of the digestive organs, and deaths from such diseases, are much more frequent in the United States than they are in Great Britain. This is very strikingly shown by the following numbers, which represent the average cases of disease and death from disease of the digestive organs in every thousand inhabitants in the two countries:—

	Diseases.	Deaths.
United States	526	14
Great Britain	95	$\frac{1}{2}$

More than one-half the population appear to be affected by such diseases in the United States, and less than one-tenth in Great Britain; and while fourteen out of every thousand die of such disease in North America, only one in two thousand actually dies of it in our island.

'If half the population be subject to a disease which, more than almost any other, interferes with bodily comfort and equability of temperament—which creates a restlessness and nervous irritability that is scarcely to be laid asleep—it must have a most powerful influence upon the habits and general character of the whole people. The prevailing nervous temperament of the New Englanders is ascribed by some of my friends, in the country itself, to the peculiarly dry and searching qualities of the climate. If this temperament lead to choice of food and habits of eating which bring on indigestion, this latter disease will again react upon the temperament, and thus a confounding of cause and effect will take place, which makes it very difficult to decide which is the first or chief agent in producing the observed result. I am very much inclined, however, to the opinion, that a great number of those who emigrate are already more or less affected by the disease in question before they forsake their homes. Privation, hard labour, anxiety of mind, too close confinement during opening manhood, and other causes, produce stomach diseases and nervous restlessness, which make men move to more hopeful regions, or which, being transmitted to children, impel them to new homes. The anxieties which attend the change of life in the new country continue and prolong the excitement; so that, independent of all special climatic action, some generations of tolerable comfort might elapse before the family restlessness would be soothed down. But if, besides, in the nature of the climate and the general example of the people there be causes of new excitement, we may expect the disease to be indefinitely continued, and the temperament to become characteristic of the people, and a national distinction.'

Agriculture,

Agriculture, according to the Durham Professor—who should here be on his strongest ground—is as yet in its infancy in America. The system consists in exhausting the natural soil by a scourging succession of grain crops; then deserting the farm, and going on to fresh territories, which are exhausted and deserted in turn. In short, land is so cheap that it is more profitable to buy new fields than to manure old; so that nothing like proper restorative culture is practised. Accordingly, says he, the great wheat region is ever retiring farther and farther to the west; while some Atlantic districts, including the whole State of New York, have become comparatively used up, and only suffice to support their own population. Hence Mr. Johnston infers that there is no probability of the price of British produce being permanently depressed by the free importation of American wheat and flour. ‘My persuasion is, that year by year our Transatlantic cousins will become less and less able—*except in extraordinary seasons*—to send large supplies of wheat to our island ports; and that, *when their freshness shall have been rubbed off their new lands*, they will be unable, *with their present knowledge and methods*, to send wheat to the British market so cheap as the more skilful farmers of Great Britain and Ireland.’ A declaration so fenced with *irritant* clauses we have rarely encountered. What, in truth, does this proposition amount to? It is undeniable that America sends large supplies of wheat to our markets at present; and the Professor states his opinion, firstly, that it will continue to do so until the virgin freshness shall have been rubbed off its new lands, but no longer. Now, when is this likely to be? Not this century, anyhow—and if the Yankees manage to retain their whole territory even to the year 1900, they will certainly ‘go a-head *slick*’ in the interval. Secondly (not to mention the further exception of ‘extraordinary seasons’), the Professor admits that these large supplies of grain, even at that very remote and indefinite period, will only cease if the American farmers adhere to their *present methods*—in other words, if, when everything else in America is ‘going a-head,’ agriculture should stand still for half a century—an impossible supposition. Lastly, how *could* the present mode of farming be adhered to after the new lands are *exhausted*, when this system (depending, as it does, on the cheapness of land, and the desertion of old farms for new) cannot go on for one moment after the new lands are *occupied*?

Let us see how the matter actually stands. Accepting as correct the averment that the State of New York is not at present an exporting one, it is always to be remembered that this by no means applies to the Atlantic States generally—as it appears from one of the Professor’s own footnotes that Pennsylvania and Virginia

Virginia are among the greatest wheat-exporting districts of the Union. Moreover, as long as New York State supports itself in grain (and our author, as we shall by and by see, holds that it is now at its lowest point of production), the whole surplus of the interior States is exportable without any deduction. What that surplus is, and how rapidly it is increasing, may be seen from Mr. Johnston's statement, that in 1838 wheaten flour was shipped at Buffalo for the West, but that in 1847 no less than *four hundred thousand tons* of wheat and flour reached the banks of the Hudson from the West. An increase of 400,000 tons in nine years is most astounding; but considering the unparalleled influx of emigrants from Europe during the last four years (double that of any former experience), it cannot be doubted that the surplus must be now increasing even still faster. The State of Michigan alone, in 1848, produced 4,740,000 bushels of wheat, of which *two millions* were exportable; an extraordinary quantity for so young a State, which at that time had only one-seventieth part of its whole cultivable area under wheat—the soil of which, as Mr. Johnston tells us, is indifferent, and its climate humid, cold, and unfavourable to agricultural pursuits. The fact is, the power of exporting large quantities of wheat implies neither great natural productiveness, nor permanently rich land, in a district which, from a state of nature, is beginning to be subjected to arable culture. The explanation of it is, that nearly the whole population of such districts is employed in agricultural pursuits, and that wheat is the only grain they produce for which a ready market can be found. Let us not be wilfully blind. As long as the Eastern States continue simply self-supporting, the surplus of the interior, of the new lands constantly being reclaimed, will year after year pour down the river-high-ways to the sea; and long before the advancing tide of cultivation has reached the barrier of the Rocky Mountains, another tidal wave of superior culture will have rolled westwards over the Alleghanies. The three great causes of the wretched system of agriculture hitherto practised in America are—cheapness of land, dearness of labour, and want of capital; and in the ordinary course of things all three will diminish together. The fact that 7 per cent. can now be had by merely lending money, while farming usually yields only 5, will retard for some time any costly improvements in agriculture. But such a state of things cannot long continue; and the extraordinary exertions now everywhere making, both in our Provinces and in the States, and which Mr. Johnston himself has been so ably helping forward, promise soon to restore to vigour the once highly productive soils of North-Eastern America. Mark his own admission, a little further

ther on:—‘I would not be so rash as to say that the wheat-producing powers of *the region east of Lake Erie, and south of the St. Lawrence*, will never be much greater than it is now; I believe it may become, and *I hope the time may soon arrive* when more skill and knowledge shall have forced it to become, *far more productive, as a whole, than it is now.*’ The Professor adds the formidable anticipation, that there we may by and by ‘find new Lothians, and Norfolks, and Lincolnshires, and a reproduction of the best farmers of all these districts—their very sons and grandsons, in fact, settled on American farms.’ Our Professor is a candid liberal; without question, if the present Free Trade work go on much longer, our farmers, both sons and fathers, will be found anywhere, everywhere, but at home! If the New York farmers grumble at being supplanted by others of their own country, it is no ways strange that ours should grumble at being supplanted by the foreigner; and if they tax Canadian grain 20 per cent., does it not seem reasonable enough that we should reciprocate the impost? Moreover, they tax grain-imports merely to keep farming profitable in exhausted districts; the former legislation of Great Britain on this subject had a far different motive. It matters nothing to the Americans, as a nation, whether they get their bread-stuffs from one part of the Union or another; but it is of mighty importance to us whether we raise our supplies at home, or become dependent for our staple food upon countries which may any day become our relentless foes; among others the Union itself, and *France*.*

Mr. Johnston’s account of Lowell, the well-known manufacturing city of Massachusetts, brings us to another branch of the great controversy of the day. This town stands on the beautiful river Merrimack, from which it derives the motive power for its machinery. It is a clean, spacious, busy place, with wide streets, abundant shops, comfortable hotels, rows of neat lodging-houses for the employed, and fifty large mills, upon which the whole population depends. Cottons, plain and printed, woollen cloths, carpets, and the machinery necessary for the spinning and weaving departments, are the principal manufactures of the town. Its rise has been very rapid. In 1828 the population was only 3500; in 1850 it was estimated at 25,000. When compared with the fine produce of the Glasgow mills, the cotton manufacture is almost in its cradle. The cloths are coarse sheetings, shirtings, drillings, and printed calicoes, which are made of low-priced cotton, and are heavy to transport. But in this department they have no

* Free-trade prophecies are already at a sad discount. France, almost the last country, we were assured, from which grain-imports were to be expected, now sends us annually 500,000 quarters of wheat, and 2,000,000 cwt. of flour!

competitors;

competitors; for the cost of transport upon European goods of this kind forms so large a percentage of their whole value, as to give the American manufacturers the sole command of their own market for these articles, and even of great part of the South American market also. Our Professor thus winds up his remarks:—

‘The deduction which I wish the reader to draw, and which I think he will draw from this comparison, is, that New England is employed almost solely in producing coarse and inferior goods, in which the quantity of raw material is great, and upon which the labour expended is comparatively small. The goods which it is of importance to us to produce are those into the price of which labour enters to the extent of from 50 to 80 per cent. of the whole cost. Such goods Glasgow chiefly makes, and such goods Lowell does not; and none of the American manufacturers can yet make them so as to come into successful competition with British and German products, even in their own protected markets. We have not, therefore, cause for those gloomy apprehensions which alarmists delight to hold up constantly before our eyes, as if the honest and praiseworthy endeavours of our Transatlantic brethren were incompatible almost with our manufacturing existence. Let them advance, as we *should* wish they might.’

Whatever we *should* wish, it is too certainly the fact that not a little of our recent legislation has been based upon a very different hope and expectation. We have been depreciating many other interests at home for the sake of pushing the foreign trade in cotton manufactures; and it becomes us to examine whether we are likely to achieve so great success in this design as will compensate the acknowledged misery which it is occasioning. What, then, is our chance of maintaining (for *extending* is manifestly hopeless) our ground in the American market? In all the rougher kinds of cotton goods, as we have seen, we are already totally supplanted; not even Manchester, with its coarse fabrics for exportation, can enter into rivalry with the produce of Lowell. Let us consider, then, whether we can hope long to hold our supremacy in the finer fabrics. The two great obstacles, we are told, to the States’ successfully competing with us in these, are ‘the high price of labour, and the expensive way in which manufacturing is generally conducted.’ As to the first—not to mention the slow but certain fall in wages owing to the vast immigration and natural increase of population—it must be recollected that our mills are driven by steam, those of Lowell by water power—an economical advantage which cannot easily be over-estimated, and which goes far to counterbalance the higher price paid for human labour, if indeed it does not compensate it in full. In regard to the second obstacle that so cheers our Professor—we must content ourselves with the very obvious hint, that

that with the Americans this manufacture is still very young. Two-and-twenty years ago there was not a loom in Lowell; and yet what is the state of matters now? Why, there are now 320,000 spindles at work, and more than 350,000 yards of cotton cloth made daily! If such has been its progress, is it likely now to stand still? Are the Yankees so diffident of their powers, so slothful in temperament, or so careless of gain, as to rest contented with their quickly-won supremacy in the coarser fabrics, and leave our finer stuffs in quiet possession of their markets? The only *real* difficulty in economising a process of this kind is to invent machinery that will produce the same results with less attendance or in less time. But in the case of Lowell, this difficulty is more imaginary than real. *We* have made such inventions, after great labour and great expense—they *have only to copy them*. The engineers that work for Manchester will work for them—we will cast what they need in our foundries, and send it out to them; and should they want to know still more, they have every opportunity for doing so at our Great Exhibition.

Such are the state and prospects of the cotton manufacture in the Northern States. But the South also has begun; and it is rushing ahead even faster than the North, and with advantages peculiar to itself. The water-power, as we have seen, gives Lowell a great advantage over the steam-mills of Manchester; and the high price of labour in Massachusetts is the only real obstacle to its competing even with our finest fabrics. The South also has its magnificent streams and abundant water-power, but it has also *cheap labour*. It is the black that there works in the mills—it is slave-labour that there comes into competition with the already down-crushed workmen of England. In Virginia, Kentucky, the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, and Mississippi, there are already some scores of factories—consuming from 300,000 to 400,000 bales of cotton a-year; and the same power which compels the negroes to toil in gangs under a burning sun will constrain them to waste life in hundreds more of such factories. There is even a double motive for thus employing them—not merely the prospect of vast gain in this manufacture, but because some of the former industries are all but quite unprofitable. The tobacco-grounds were yearly becoming more and more exhausted; thousands of acres were annually abandoned; and the slave-lords had been removing their black *stock* or *plant* further and further from the coast, for the sake of reaching richer soils. But the cotton-manufacture has at once relieved their embarrassment; and they are now driving it on with all the eagerness of men who have just discovered a golden mine. With *operatives* who ask no wages—whose sole cost is keeping soul and body together—who
never

never dream of *strikes*, and who work as obediently and mechanically as the machines they superintend, the slave-owners of the South will soon make their influence felt on both sides of the Atlantic. Even our Professor registers 'the prediction of many, that the manufacturers of the Eastern States will sink before them.'

Leaving *the Eastern States* to look after their own dollar, we guess it is time for Old England to drop the beatific vision of spinning for all the world. We are receiving a smart rebuff in what all our wise men had pronounced the most promising market for our cotton goods. Moreover, with these hundreds of mills both in the northern and southern States, and new ones yearly springing up on the banks of their noble rivers, it is plain enough that ere long there will be little surplus cotton to send to us. This the mill-men of Manchester already perceive, and hence the great interest they now take in India, and the Commission sent out to report on the possibility of growing cotton there on a gigantic scale—with a profit. Add to all this the *duty of from thirty to fifty per cent. levied on our manufactures* by the States, and we complete a picture which merits the serious consideration of our Ministers—indeed of their masters.

We cannot conclude without adverting to the general prospects of the poor Negroes in the Union. One of the most melancholy results of the system of slavery in Virginia, especially since the land became exhausted, is the breeding and rearing of slaves for the supply of the South. Doubtless the greater attention which proprietors are thus induced to bestow on their *stock* cannot be without some good to the physical interests of the blacks; but it is a humbling thing to see 'human produce' made a branch of common rural industry in a Christian State!—'Virginia,' said not long since one of its representatives, 'has a slave population of near half a million, *whose value is chiefly dependent on Southern demand.*' 'In plain English,' retorted Mr. Stevens, a Pennsylvanian member of Congress—'what does this mean? That Virginia is now fit to be the breeder, not the employer of slaves; that her proud chivalry are compelled to turn slave-traders for a livelihood. Instead of attempting to renovate the soil, and by their own honest labour compelling the earth to yield her abundance—instead of seeking for the best breeds of cattle and horses to feed on her hills and valleys, and fertilise the land—the sons of the Great State must devote their time to selecting and grooming the most lusty sires and the most fruitful wenches, to supply the slave-barracoons of the South!' And so profitable is this slave-rearing husbandry, that Mr. Johnston tells us it brings in more money yearly to Virginia than all its tobacco and cotton do!

The

The increased application of Negro labour to the growth of sugar in the Southern States is another circumstance of moment.

‘In Louisiana,’ says Mr. Johnston, ‘there were of sugar estates, and of slaves employed in the cultivation of sugar, in

	With Horse-power.		With Steam-power.		Estates.	Slaves.
1844-45	..	354	..	480	..	63,000
1849-50	..	671	..	865	..	126,000

The cultivation of sugar, therefore, is rapidly increasing—a proof that, with the aid of the duty imposed upon foreign sugar in the States, these countries can now compete profitably with Cuba and the Brazils. Much more, therefore, when the slave-trade to these latter countries shall come to be abolished, and the expense of cultivation thereby raised, will they be able to strive successfully against them for the supply of the whole United States market. And if we consider that into this latter market raw sugar to the value of about nine million dollars is now annually imported from Spanish and Brazilian ports, we shall be able to form an idea of the very great development of which this branch of culture, in the Southern States, is still susceptible.’

If to the cotton culture—hitherto the great slave-multiplier—be now added a largely increased slave-culture of sugar, and to both the employment of negroes in cotton and other factories, it cannot be doubted that a fresh and most potent stimulus will be given to this breeding and traffic of blacks, and a stronger enthusiasm nourished for those ‘domestic institutions’ by which slavery is established and made legal. ‘And, if in free England the factory system has been productive of so many evils, physical, moral, and social—who shall say to what new forms of oppression and misery it may give rise in vast workshops peopled by human beings who have no civil rights, and who are superintended by others whose immediate profit may be the greatest when their sufferings are rendered the most unbearable?’ Can any one doubt that the evil must tell upon us also?

‘It can scarcely fail,’ says Mr. Johnston, ‘to affect in a marked manner the future comfort and condition of our home population. If the labour of coloured slaves, so employed, really prove cheaper than that of free white men, then either *our manufactures must decline and decrease, or the condition and emoluments of our workmen must be gradually reduced to the level of those of the SLAVE OPERATIVES of the American factories.* The possibility of such a result is melancholy and disheartening, at a time when so many are anxious rather to improve and elevate than further to depress our labouring people.’

We thank the Professor for the frank admission of this passage:—but what right has he to insinuate that there ever was a time when it was the wish of the British government, or of any influential class of this community, to ‘depress our labouring people?’ This slang is exceedingly unworthy of such a writer. But to return

to his proper topic—we may add, that our African Squadron, and other efforts for repressing the slave trade, are here worse than useless; for just in proportion as slavery goes down in Brazil and Cuba, will the stimulus to slave-breeding be increased in Virginia.

What is to be done with the American negroes? This is, perhaps, a question of as great perplexity to the friends of the blacks as to their sternest taskmasters. Besides the actual slaves, the growing body of free coloured people is a source of extreme anxiety. At the beginning of the century their number in Virginia was only 10,000; it is now estimated at six times that amount. They are most numerous in Eastern Virginia; and as the whites in that region are diminishing, while the free blacks are increasing, it is not unnatural that the former should dread the influence of the latter upon the minds of the slaves. Attempts have accordingly been made to repress this increase, by discouraging the emancipation of the slaves, and forbidding such as are emancipated from remaining in the State without the special permission of the county-courts. But the agent most relied on has been the American Colonisation Society—that is, the scheme for conveying all free blacks who choose to the Liberian settlement in Africa,—a scheme proposed by President Jefferson at the close of last century, established in 1817, aided and countenanced by the legislature of Virginia, and recently supported by Messrs. Clay and Webster. The latter statesman, in March, 1850, explicitly said,—‘If Virginia and the South see fit to adopt any proposition to relieve themselves from the free people of colour among them, or such as may be made free, they have my full consent that the Government shall pay them any sum adequate to the purpose out of the proceeds of the sale of the territories ceded to the general Government.—and which has already produced 80,000,000 dollars.’ In session 1850 the legislature of Virginia passed a bill appropriating 50,000 dollars a-year for five years, to remove from that State, under the auspices of the Colonisation Society, each free person of colour who might be willing to emigrate to Africa; and imposing on those who remained a tax of a dollar a-head, to be added to the same fund. And in the present Congress (1851) Mr. Clay has proposed the establishment of a line of Government *emigration steamers* to the coast of Africa to promote the egress of free blacks.

We are happy in believing that the settlement of Liberia has already had some effect in repressing the slave traffic on the adjoining Coast of Africa, and promoting better industry there than that of kidnapping. But, as respects its main avowed purpose, this Colonisation Society has not as yet succeeded. The free coloured people in the States increase at present at the rate of
11,000

11,000 a-year, while the Society in thirty-three years has transported only 7000 in all, many of them slaves manumitted for the purpose. Should Mr. Webster, now in office, still adhere to his above-quoted sentiments on this matter, and if Mr. Clay succeed in his present proposal, something useful may yet be done by means of the Society; though from the almost universal reluctance of the negroes to emigrate, and other obstacles, it seems destined never to realise at all the hopes of its founders.

‘It cannot be (says Mr. Johnston) that statesmen really look for any relief of the supposed evil to this plan of deportation. The proposals must rather be made as temporary expedients, and for the purpose of political conciliation. So it must have been also with Mr. Clay’s plan for the gradual abolition of slavery in Kentucky, that all born after 1860 should be free when they reached the age of twenty-five, and that they should then be apprenticed for three years, to raise a sum sufficient to transport them to a colony, to be provided for the purpose. Who can foresee what is to be the state of the Union itself, or the political position of this constantly increasing body of coloured people, in the year 1888, when the first of these freed slaves would be in a condition to be expatriated?’

‘There are now in the Union about 3,300,000 slaves, and 500,000 free coloured people. If these increase at the present ratio of 3 or even $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, they will amount respectively, in 1890, to 1,250,000 of free coloured, and to upwards of 7,000,000 of slaves! The new constitutions adopted in Kentucky and Illinois forbid the immigration and settlement of free people of colour in these States, and order the expulsion of such as are made free. But when numbers multiply so greatly, what law, unless it be that another St. Bartholomew shall be enacted, will prevent these numbers from spreading over the land?’

Are, then, these poor creatures destined yet to struggle through blood and fire to some half-savage monarchy of their own? or, humanised by generations of peace, will they emerge gradually, and almost unnoticed, into a civilised and Christian community? Another St. Bartholomew will not do:—a thought so devilish could never creep into the manly American heart; and if their present rate of increase continues as it seems likely to do, ere this century has closed the expense of retaining such a population in subjection will outweigh any profit derivable from their compulsory labour. A nation of ten million Africans cannot be held in a silken leash: Prussia, under the Great Frederick, had hardly half that number, and yet she baffled the leagued forces of three empires. With the excessive antipathy to every shade of black blood which pervades every part of the Union, it may be long before a Negro State will be permitted to rear its head. But every year is bringing this climax nearer; and the very care at present bestowed upon the breeding of slaves, revolting though
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it be, may be one of the agencies by which Providence is hastening on the final extinction of bondage in the Transatlantic World. A New St. Domingo, indeed, would never be tolerated in the midst of Anglo-Saxon light and energy; but the Negroes of the States are already a very different race of men from those who sixty years ago made a hell of that noble island. Those were fresh from the African wilds, burning with all the fierce lusts of savage existence, and wrathful under the new thralldom of their white masters. The others have long been encircled by many civilising influences; their *original* hatred to their masters has long passed away; the pleasing symptom of hundreds redeeming their freedom is witnessed every year; not a few of these freedmen have distinguished themselves in the humble career thus opened to them, and probably many more would do so but for the repressive jealousy of their white brethren.*

True, that improvement is yet in its infancy—true that, standing side by side with the lordliest type of our race, the inferiority of the Negro still seems excessive. But consider the long glory of the one and the almost immemorial degradation of the other. Can the deep debasement of three thousand years be rolled from off the Negro's soul like a mist of the morning? Can half a century in the green savannahs of America efface the scorching marks of the sun of Africa—the debasing sterility of its glowing deserts? The fertile region where now he dwells is not his own—its riches, its fruits, its beauty, are not as yet for him; and can we, remembering all this, still reject his case as hopeless because he has not risen nearer to a fellowship with a world which disowns him, and which too bitterly thrusts him back from its portals?

Colonel Cunynghame shrewdly says:—

‘The Americans of the Southern States are very anxious that all strangers should come to an unfavourable conclusion respecting the mental capabilities of the black man, invariably stating that the race are susceptible of no improvement, however much attention is lavished upon the cultivation of their minds; but that this cannot really be their

* In calculating the probabilities of the future establishment of a great negro dominion, we must not overlook the myriads of that unhappy race in the islands of the Mexican Gulf. The decree of the Provisional Government in 1848, by which all the blacks in the French islands were declared free, has worked very badly. ‘All the emigrants from Guadaloupe and Martinique with whom I conversed,’ says Marmier, ‘foresaw a bloody and terrible catastrophe. Failing energetic repression, these islands, like St. Domingo, will be lost to us. But we shall have the satisfaction, perhaps,’ he adds, with misplaced levity, ‘of witnessing the foundation of a new kingdom of the blacks, and of manufacturing at Paris the crown and sceptre of another Faustin I.’ In the course of ages, should there indeed arise a negro dominion in the New World, it will probably be attended by a concentration of the blacks from Maryland to Brazil. A central position, such as the possession of St. Domingo and one or two other islands of the Gulf would afford them, might be best both for themselves and for their white brethren, as at once concentrating and isolating them.

own impression is too clearly demonstrated by the necessity which these citizens have advocated, of passing laws in the senate against all instruction being granted to this race. If, in their opinion, no harm could arise to their own interest from increased knowledge in the slave, or if he were utterly incapable of receiving useful impressions, why adopt such vigorous measures to preclude him only from eating of that fruit, which they acknowledge, by their universal system of education, to be so invaluable to themselves?'—*Glimpse*, p. 146.

'It has been stated by persons worthy of credit,' says Mr. Johnston, 'that the older skulls disinterred from the Negro burying ground at New York, are much thicker, and indicate a less intellectual character, than those of more modern date. Dr. Warren showed me, in his collection, skulls of pure Negroes of full blood, which he assured me were of enlarged size, and manifested greater signs of intellectual capacity; and he expressed to me his conviction, that the race, by long residence in this more intellectual country, was itself becoming more intellectual. This is certainly in consonance with one's hopes and wishes, and in accordance with the ideas of Blumenbach. The upholders of the permanence and inalterability of pure races meet us with the objection, that there are in Africa different tribes with different degrees of intellectual endowment; and that, to prove our case, we must trace the same family always mixing with the same blood for a couple of centuries, and show that the last of the successive generations is wiser and nobler in mind than the first. But though this has not been done, I am not willing to estimate lightly the matured opinion of so old and practised an observer as Dr. Warren.'

Most lamentable is the unmeasured acrimony and virulence which the Slavery Question is at present exciting throughout the Union. The Free States, galled by the gibes and sarcasms hurled at them from Europe as tolerators of slavery, and roused by the sight of horrors which the Fugitive Slave Bill has now brought to their doors, have lost sight of all prudence, and cast forbearance to the winds, in their antipathy to slavery and the Slave States. They overlook the immense difficulty of dealing with such a question—they forget of how old a standing the evil is, and how closely it has become mixed up with the material interests and social institutions of the southern part of the Union. As M. Marmier sharply reminds them—

'They discuss this question quite at their ease. By the nature of their soil and climate they have no need of slavery, and there are but few negroes within their territories. I will add that the States of the North have no right to boast of their emancipation of the blacks, since they have conceded to them only an affronting liberty—since they hold them like helots to the lowest trades, and brand them with a stigma of reprobation like pariahs.'

It is a Gordian knot that dare not be cut. It is a task for a Napoleon—

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Napoleon — how is it to be accomplished by shallow spouters and turgid pamphleteers? If they will not forbear for the Union's sake, it is needless to implore them to be prudent for the sake of the Negroes. But what other result can all this blind fury and inflammatory harangue have upon the helpless slaves, save to fill them with discontent or rouse them to revolution? There must be wise heads and iron wills in Virginia to have thus long repressed the effervescence; but if the rabid declamations of the North continue much longer, there cannot fail to be such a crisis as America has never yet beheld and will never cease to deplore.
